

## Malay Blends - CV or Syllable Template?

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### Abstract

This paper compares CV- and syllable-template processes in the derivation of Malay blends and concludes that the syllable-template approach, relying as it does on constituent copying, allows for a naturalness in the derivation of the forms than a more arbitrary CV-template approach.

### 1.0 Introduction

The subject of this paper is the structure and representation of blends in modern Malay.<sup>1</sup> In the first part of the paper, I present a survey of blend forms that I have collected from a number of consultants, and present their phonological structure taxonomically. In part 2, I will consider the formal question of whether these structures are best represented as derived from a CV-template or through a syllable-template process.

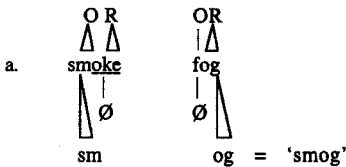
### 2.0 Data and Taxonomy

#### 2.1 The phenomenon

Blends in Malay, like blends in English and other languages, are abbreviated forms of compounds or short phrases typically used in colloquial speech or journalese.<sup>2</sup> I will refer to the elements from which the blends are derived as 'bases' whether they are or compounds or phrases, and to their constituents as 'base words'.

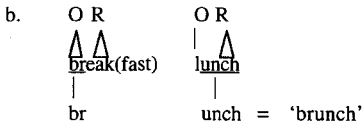
Blends, like other instances of derivational stem modification, are phonologically systematic. In English, for example, one blend type is (allegedly) derived by deleting the rhyme of the initial syllable of the first base word and the onset of the second base word, and juxtaposing the remainder, as in (1),

#### (1) BASE WORDS



<sup>1</sup>Malay (Malayu) is a language of the Malayo-Polynesian family, spoken by about 11 million people in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore. Consultants for this study were from Singapore and the following locations in Malaysia: Kuantan, Kuala Lumpur, Miri, Penang, Seremban, Sepoh. Many thanks to all of them for their enthusiasm and patient cooperation. Transcription is based on the written standard:  $\underline{x}$  represents a reduced, schwa-like vowel;  $\underline{ng}$  represents the phoneme /ŋ/,  $\underline{y}$  the glide [j], and written  $\underline{j}$  the affricate [dʒ]. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the CLA 1990 meetings in Victoria, BC.

<sup>2</sup>Some of these forms eventually gain currency in the written language, but this issue will not be dealt with here.



c. m(otor) (h)otel

d. scr(ape) (sp)onge = Scrunge™ (scrubber sponge made by CowBrand)  
 (NB change in spelling to capture semantics of 'grunge')

In Malay, as in English or Russian, blends come in various phonological flavors; they are not all derived by a single process. Example (2) provides a sample of some of the blend types found in Malay (copied material is underlined; other changes are double underlined).

(2)	BLEND	BASE	
a.	mē nlu	<u>mē</u> nteri <u>luar</u> minister outside	'minister of external affairs'
	pulada	<u>pusat</u> <u>latihan</u> <u>darat</u> center training land (forces)	'army training camp'
	tadika	<u>taman</u> <u>djidikan</u> <u>kanak</u> -kanak garden rearing infants	'kindergarten'
b.	andartu	<u>anak</u> <u>darā</u> <u>tua</u> child virgin old	'female bachelor'
	cē rpen	<u>cē</u> <u>rita</u> <u>pendek</u> story short	'short story'
c.	kugiran	<u>kumpulan</u> <u>gitar</u> <u>ranca</u> k group guitar lively	'rock band'
	pē lita	<u>pē</u> <u>mbangunan</u> <u>lima</u> <u>tahun</u> development 5 year	'five-year plan'
d.	berdikari	<u>berdiri</u> <u>di-</u> atas <u>kaki</u> sendiri standing on-top foot self	'be self reliant'
	maun	<u>makan</u> <u>daun</u> eat leaves	'herbivore'
e.	unitama	<u>uni</u> verseti <u>utara</u> <u>malaysia</u> university north Malaysia	'U. of North Malaysia'

I will refer to syllables in this initial discussion. A Malay syllable has the canonical form (C) V (C), where the coda C = N, r, l, s, h.

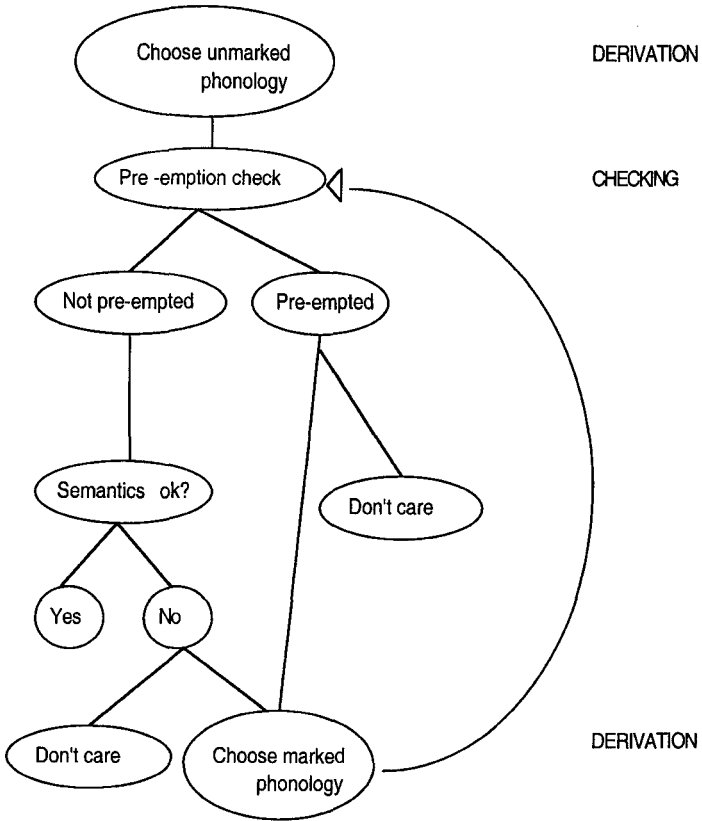
In (1) a., the initial syllable of each base word is copied; in (1) b., the initial syllable of each word base is copied, along with the onset of at least one of the following syllables; in (1) c., initial syllables of the word base are again copied, but the coda C of at least one syllable is removed; (1) d. shows that copying is not restricted to initial syllables; and (1) e. shows that copying is not restricted to single syllables or even to the first syllables or the word base.<sup>3</sup>

Blends are not always subject to simple or totally straightforward phonological derivation because their phonological shape must interact with semantic factors. They must be considered by native speakers to be not only phonologically acceptable forms, but also semantically transparent enough to be satisfying as a representation of the base words, or their intent, or, at the very least, as a trigger of the base word phonology. Figure (3) sums up these requirements in flow chart form. For now, I use the term 'unmarked' to mean that syllables are selected without further adjustment, and 'marked' to mean that material is added to or deleted from syllables.

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<sup>3</sup>This variety in blend types is not surprising when blends are contrasted with another stem-changing process, reduplication. Reduplicative forms show considerable cross-linguistic variety. Recent work such as Alderete, Beckman, et al (1999) suggests that one determinant of this variety is 'the emergence of the unmarked' (TETU) in reduplicative affixes. I will suggest that something akin to TETU also occurs in Malay blending, even though the ultimate goal of the process is to produce something quite different from a reduplicated form.

(3) Deriving a blend



Initially, unmarked phonology is employed, which utilizes fundamental constituents of base words and requires no further phonological adjustment. Derivations are checked against existing forms. In some cases, a match may be desired for various purposes (attention getting, puns, etc.). Non-preempted forms are also checked for phonosemantic appropriateness. Forms may be non-preemptive but resemble taboo forms or other forms

inappropriate to the desired result. Alternatively, forms may resemble other forms in a way desired by the innovator. Rejected forms must be rederived; this requires a more marked phonological option. Once a marked option is derived, the checking procedure begins again. Further rejection of the derivation requires increasingly marked options until an acceptable form is reached.

Bat-El 1996 and Kubozono 1990 also argue that blends refer to 'grammatical structures and constraints.' This view stands in contrast to that of Bauer 1988, who claims that blends are created with 'no apparent principles.' It will be apparent that this paper reaches the same conclusions as Bat-El and Kubozono, though arriving at them from a different angle.

## 2.2 Existing Blends in Malay

Malay shows greater variety of blend processes than given in (2). Example (4) presents the full range of this variation ranged in a branching diagram representing the logical possibilities implied in the data collected to date. The presentation illustrates blend types according to phonological simplicity.

### (4) Malay Blends on separate page(s)

Those forms that consist of juxtaposed word-initial syllables are considered (for now) to be maximally unmarked.<sup>4</sup> The converging branches beneath UM 1 and 2 mean that multiple syllables from both the initial and second words of the base phrase have been employed.

By 'marked', it is meant throughout that syllables are adjusted in some way, either by having 'weight' in the form of a segment or segments added or deleted. This adjustment can take place internally (to syllables not at the final word-margin), or finally, when a word final syllable is closed by capturing the onset of the following syllable prior to deletion of the remainder of the base word. Forms can be made up of initial syllable(s) combined with non-initial syllable(s) and the same marking options can be found (in theory) in either type of form.

The major right branch of the diagram represents forms in which more than one syllable has been employed from a base word or words. Again, the UM forms are those which employ initial syllables, and the numbers '1' and '2 ...' mean that the multiple syllables are taken from either the first or succeeding words in the base phrase. The converging branches beneath UM 1 and 2 mean that multiple syllables form both the initial and second words of the base phrase. Blends are also formed by combining initial and non-initial syllable(s) of the base phrase, and these combinations may be of initial and internal syllables of base words or of initial and final syllable(s) of base words. Here again, 'unmarked' and 'marked' mean 'adjusted' in the manners described above.

As can be seen from the total number of forms indicated by number beneath each terminal branch, not every possible phonological option is exploited. In single syllable forms, blends composed of word initial syllables predominate, even though many of these are marked. The marking, however, is predominantly weight-adding, and this weight adding entails the capturing of a [sonorant] onset from a second syllable, whether internally or finally. In order not to assign any definite theoretical status to it at this time, I shall refer to this process as *glomming*. No instance of obstruent *glomming* has come to my attention to

<sup>4</sup> Malay syllables are essentially (C)V(C<sub>son</sub>) in structure, where the optional closing sonorant may be /m n ŋ s h/. I am assuming here a framework in which coda consonants in borrowings are considered to belong to a separate submodule. Evidence for maintaining this approach, even to time-honored borrowing, stems largely from the fact that, in colloquial speech, borrowings are still subject to nativization.

date. Adjustment by removal also involves sonorants or, in one case, the nonsonorant phoneme (/j/) in a borrowed word.

Blends composed of single syllable initials+internal noninitials do not show any purely UM examples (consultants assure me they exist, but are hard to bring to mind). The combining of initial(s) and the final syllable of the last word in the base phrase is more prevalent.

Blends formed from multiple syllables show a similar patterning. Unmarked forms made with the initial syllable(s) of base words predominate; there are a few instances of weight adjustment internally and finally. There is only one example of initial(s) + noninitial(s) combining, and that is a multiple initial + a single final syllable, unmarked.

Overall, observe that (a) the first syllable of the first base word is always used, (b) unmarked forms slightly predominate, and (c) marking is more frequently found in blends composed of single syllables; this marking virtually always involves sonorant glomming. I will comment in more detail on this on Part II.

### 2.3 Forced Neologisms

As a check on the productivity of observed blend types, consultants were asked to create new blends, either on the basis of base phrases they invented themselves or on the basis of existing base phrases. Two consultants were also asked to create neologisms from a group of base phrases I selected for certain phonological characteristics (open first syllable with presence or absence of sonorant in the onset of second syllable of initial base word, etc.). As no difference was observed in the structure of blends based on novel base phrases or existing base phrases, the two types are lumped together below. All neologisms are preceded by a raised exclamation mark.

#### (5) Some Forced Neologisms

a.	!ajan	ayam jantan fowl male	'rooster'
	!balita	bayi lima tahun baby five year	'5-year-old baby'
	!cambu	campak buah throw fruit	'throwing fruit'
b.	!antě rtu	anak tě_runa tua child young old	'old bachelor'
	!orbo	orang boros person plunging	'reckless spender'
	!kesor	kě_rě ta sorong car(t) push	'push cart'
c.	!maun	majlis undangan council legislative (NB: pre-empted by most consultants due to <u>maun</u> 'herbivore')	'legislative council'

!	okab	orang <u>kaya baru</u> man WH rich	'rich man' (parvenu)
d.	! pẽ rtama	pẽ rsatuan pẽ tani <sup>2</sup> <u>malaysia</u> association farmers Malaysia	'Malaysian farmers' assoc.'
e.	! akat	<u>gnak angkat</u> child adopt	'adopted child'
	! aki	<u>gnak laki-laki</u> child male	'boy'
	! balah	<u>batu belah</u> rock split	'split rock'

Here, in (5) a., the initial syllable of each base word is copied; in (5) b., the initial syllable of each word base is copied, along with at least one onset of a following syllable; in (5) c., initial syllables of the word base are again copied, but the coda C of at least one syllable is removed; (5) d. shows that copying is not restricted to initial syllables; and (5) e. shows blend forms composed of the initial syllable of the first base word and the final syllable of the second base word.

The forced neologisms I elicited are not all produced with the same strategies as existing forms. The strategy of choice is to combine the initial syllable of the first base word with the final syllable of the last in an unmarked manner. Nonetheless, the same broad range of strategies is encountered, suggesting that the production of neologisms is no different from the derivations that produced the existing blends. Perhaps because speakers had less time to reflect on their choices, more unmarked forms are encountered among the neologisms.

### 3.0 Theory

Viewed in light of recent developments in phonological theory, a question that arises with respect to these blends is whether they are best represented as CV-template derived in the spirit of Marantz 1982 and later Clements 1985, or as syllable template derived following Steriade 1988. I employ the latter as a jumping-off place for the analysis. McCarthy and Prince's Satisfaction Condition (1986) also dovetails with the Malay material. I will not attempt an Optimality Theory analysis in the spirit of Bat-El 1996.

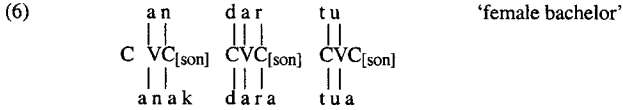
#### 3.1 CV-template derivation

Steriade claims that data from non-reduplicative morphological processes demonstrates that CV-templates are not necessary in reduplication. She notes that segmental changes occur independently of reduplication (in non-reduplicative morphological derivation such as blending, for example) and so are not template-based.

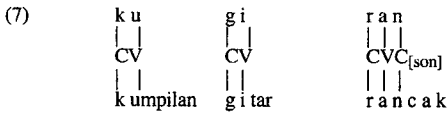
It follows from this claim that templates are unnecessary in non-reduplicative morphological derivation as well. I will first show that a CV-template approach in this particular type of non-reduplicative morphology is initially workable and revealing, though it is ultimately not as appropriate as a syllable-template approach.

Suppose initially that the template is CV(C<sub>[son]</sub>). Forms like *menlu* and *pulada* (2a) are those in which the full template option is employed. Since there is no second C to match up with the template, we may claim, as an initial explanation, that either a CVC or CV sequence will automatically be selected by the matching procedure. In such forms as *kugiran* and

*pelita* (2c), the sonorant consonant option is simply not selected and thus the syllable coda does not appear in the blend. Finally, by employing a full  $CV(C_{[son]})$  template, both glomming and segment removal acquire a straightforward representation. Marked blends with internal or final glommed segments are those for which the full  $CV(C_{[son]})$  option has been selected, as represented in (6).



As noted above, marked blends displaying apparent segment (coda) removal from a syllable are represented as those which are formed with the  $CV$  option, as in (7), where the final element is formed with the full  $CVC_{[son]}$  option. Choice of the  $CV$  option automatically eliminates those segments that do not show up in the derived form.



However, in taking this approach, we are left with an interesting formal problem: we have no way to decide whether in forms like (7) a  $CVC$  template was selected that simply did not match up with the available melodic sequence, or whether a  $CV$  template was selected in order to make a perfect match initially. Fortunately, there is a way out of this formal difficulty.

Since the maximal template encountered appears to be  $CVC_{[son]}$  (extended words aside for the moment), we could propose that all sequences are copied in this form, as illustrated in (8) (in (8)b., a non-native nonsonorant coda is exceptionally allowed in a borrowing; such forms are occasionally found).



- (8) a.  $\begin{array}{cc} m\ddot{e} & n & l & u \\ ||| & & || & \\ CVC[son] & & CV & \\ ||| & & || & \\ m\ddot{e} & n & t\ddot{e} & r & i & l & u & a & r \end{array}$
- b.  $\begin{array}{ccc} I & n & t & e & k & * & m & a & r \\ || & & ||| & & ||| & & ||| & & \\ CVC[son] & & CVC^+ & CVC[son] & & & & & \\ || & & ||| & & ||| & & ||| & & \\ I & n & s & t & i & t & t & e & k & n & o & l & o & j & i & M & a & r & a \end{array}$
- c.  $\begin{array}{ccc} * & p & u & s & * & l & a & t & * & d & a & r & (p & u & l & a & d & a \text{ 'army training camp'}) \\ ||| & & ||| & & ||| & & ||| & & ||| & & & & & & & & & & & \\ CVC[son] & & CVC[son] & & CVC[son] & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \\ ||| & & ||| & & ||| & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \\ p & u & s & a & t & l & a & t & i & h & a & n & d & a & r & a & t \end{array}$

While forms with initial vowels and closed syllables are captured with the maximal CVC<sub>[son]</sub> template, forms like *pulada* and *Intekna* are initially derived incorrectly as *\*pusladan* and *\*Inteknar*, respectively. It follows that the adjustment to preferred forms is made through systematic removal of certain segments. As I show in the following section, this option is on the right track.

Finally, forms like *cĕ reka* (from *cĕ reta rekaan*), which apparently show multiple syllables, are derived by stringing together CV templates until the desired degree of phonosemantic transparency is achieved (the dot marks a template boundary).

- (9)  $\begin{array}{cc} c\ddot{e} & r & e & k & a \\ || & & || & || & || \\ CV & & CV & CV \\ | \cdot | & & | & | & | \\ c\ddot{e} & r & i & t & a & r & e & k & a & a & n \end{array}$

The CV-template approach has the merit of providing a unified formal representation of both glomming and segment removal, since both fall out of template selection. In this sense, it contradicts one of Steriade's arguments for abandoning the template approach in reduplication. Segmental changes are unrelated to the copying process. However, there are two strong arguments against the use of a CV template to derive these forms in Malay.

- (a) In the CV-template approach outlined here, C<sub>[son]</sub> must be specified as such, since no reference to syllable structure is made; in a syllabic approach, the coda syllable in native vocabulary is redundantly [son].
- (b) The stringing together of multiple templates such as illustrated in (9) becomes too arbitrary when it is used to derive forms that noncontroversially employ the initial syllable of the first base word and the final syllable of the second base word, as in (5e), or an internal syllable, such as in (2e).

The next section therefore considers a syllabic approach to this process.

### 3.2 Syllable-template derivation

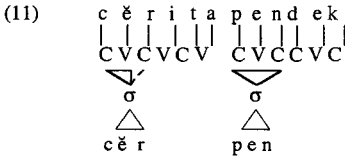
A syllable-template approach permits us as an initial step to make a maximally simple statement of the derivation of unmarked classes of Malay blends, as in (10).

- (10) a. Copy the initial and 2nd. (3rd, etc., final or various combinations thereof) syllable of each base word. Discard the remainder of the base (Stray Erasure).  
 b. Join the copied syllables L-R.

There remains the problem of representing marked forms. To do this, we must decide what the theoretical status of glomming is.

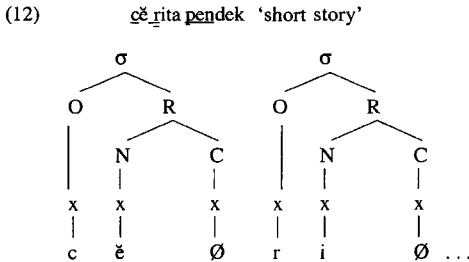
#### GLOMMING: CONSIDERATIONS

Stated most blatantly, a sonorant onset from a noninitial syllable is optionally captured by the preceding syllable before the remainder of the form is discarded (11).



In the material I have collected, there are eight examples of glomming in the existing blends, and ten in the neologisms. None show the glomming of an obstruent. (In only one instance is an obstruent coda present in a form, this from the borrowed form *Teknologi*).

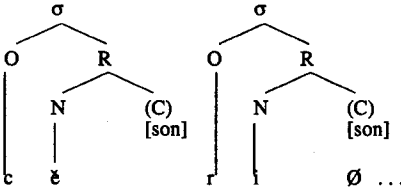
Glomming may be treated as a variety of slot-filling parallel to a theory of compensatory lengthening like Kay & Lowenstamm (1986), that claims that an empty position is filled automatically by the spreading of features (segments). It is given in their theory that all syllable positions are obligatory represented by x's, though not always filled. Applying this approach to Malay blends, glomming is represented as the filling of empty coda slot material by the R-L spreading of a permissible [sonorant] segment (or root node).



However, for K&L, CL is obligatory and automatic. In Malay, glomming in blend formation appears to be optional.

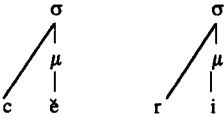
By the same token, we might well claim that glomming is an argument against *x*-theory. Malay codas are optional, and when present, are redundantly [sonorant]; this constraining allows only sonorants to fill (optionally) the optional coda position, as in (13). If a coda is optionally chosen for phonosemantic ends, it can only be a sonorant, and the added unfilled coda position will trigger glomming.

(13) *cə\_rita pendek* 'short story'



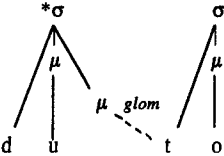
The fact that obstruents do not (or rarely) become codas may well be represented in terms of their phonological weight. A mora account of glomming may thus be revealing. In a mora account, we may consider obstruents (language-specifically) weightless. Since they add no weight, their presence in codas is permissible. Resyllabification is thus confined to weightless elements, as in (14a) versus (14b), since obstruent codas will be assigned weight by position.

(14) a. *cə\_rita pendek* 'short story'



but

b. *duto bə sar* 'Ambassador'

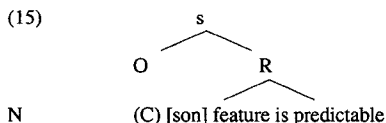


What certainly emerges from all these speculations is that the unit of structure in question is the syllable, and not just a CV sequence. Codas are filled by coda-licensed material and nothing else. This phenomenon would be inexplicable if only sequences of segments were

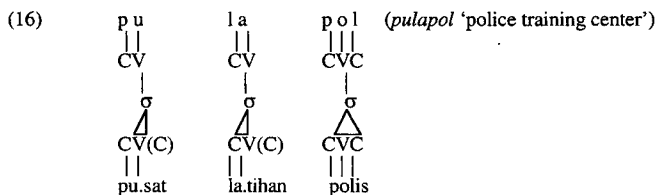
being gathered together until some satisfactory level of phonosemantic transparency was reached.

#### USING A SYLLABLE TEMPLATE

In the options illustrated from (11) to (14), some form of overt adjustment or capturing of the coda was required. Let us further consider the possibility that only a single syllable template is employed, one that represents the use of a sonorant coda as a selectional option, as in (15).



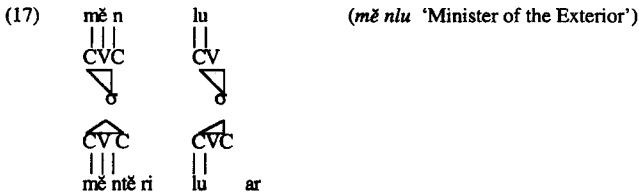
In this approach, copied CV syllables do not fill the template requirements, but there is no penalty in the form of adjustment. The optional coda C is simply not selected.



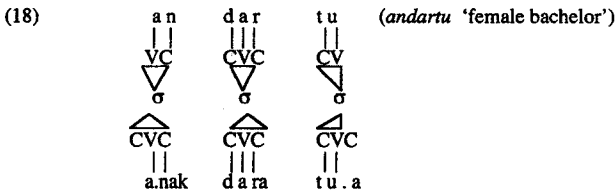
This approach not only captures the fact that CV syllables are transferred as such but allows sonorants to be optionally glommed from a succeeding syllable, as the final blend syllable *pol* illustrates. This approach looks strikingly like what was proposed in the CV-template approach above, but of course it rests on the syllable template as the point of origin for copying. This difference is crucial, as it accounts for the presence of the optional coda.

But if we have come this far, there is no reason not to take the next logical step and assume that a maximal syllable is *obligatorily* copied, and that all cases of blend internal CV syllables that derive from CVC base syllables are formed through a process of adjustment. Indeed, it is just this notion of 'satisfaction' of template requirements that is formalized by McCarthy and Prince as the Satisfaction Condition.

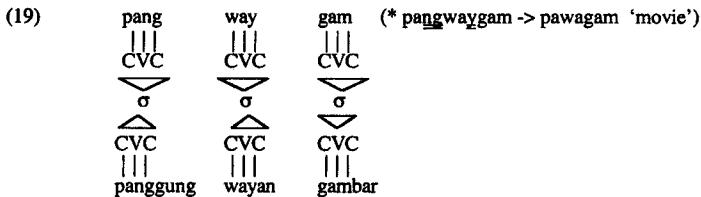
The first implication that devolves from this approach is that forms with existing CV syllables will still be copied as such as long as the onset of the following syllable is not a sonorant consonant, as in the second syllable of (17), while CVC syllables will be fully copied, as in the first syllable of (17).



The second implication is that forms that show sonorant consonant onsets following a CV syllable will be maximally copied, as in (18) and (19) below. In some cases, as in (18), this will result in a correct output.



In other cases, this results in an output that requires further adjustment (removal), as in (19).<sup>5</sup>



Thus, the revised claim is that it is glomming that is an automatic consequence of the syllable structure and not a marked option, while consonant removal is the marked option. 'Unmarked', in other words, will mean all those blends that contain maximal CVC syllables, whether they are 'original' or created through capture of a former onset by the syllable template. In order to justify this approach a closer look must be taken at segment removal.

#### 4.0 Segment Removal

While glomming may be determined by syllable template requirements, segment removal - at least of consonantal segments - appears to be a process of a different order.<sup>6</sup> In word

<sup>5</sup> In many cases, removal is optional and takes place in order to ensure a good phonosemantic result; the existence of alternative forms of the blends supports this claim. However, they may be cases in which removal is triggered or at least encouraged by bad coda-onset interfaces or other phonological conditions.

internal position in existing blends, segment removal from the coda - always of a [son], of course, occurs in four out of six possible environments, and in neologisms, it occurs in 3 out of 3 possible environments.

In word final position, removal occurs in zero out of six possible environments in existing blends and in neologisms, there is no final coda removal in 30 out of 30 possible cases. In other words, every 'naturally occurring' final closed syllable is left in place.

There appears to be a general factor operating in some cases. Internal coda removal in existing blends occurs in forms that are ultimately composed entirely of CV syllables. It appears that in these forms segment removal is a word-level phonological strategy that leads to the desired regularity or euphony of a word consisting of CV syllables. Among neologisms, three out of three word-internal codas are removed, though each circumstance here is unique. In one case, the non-native coda element /j/ is removed; in another, an /m/ that would assimilate to /ŋ/ due to a following /k/ in the blend thus distorting the reading of the new form is deleted; in a third case, preserving the coda would result in an impermissible /m m/ sequence.

Thus, a variety of factors accounts for internal coda removal: phonosemantic needs, word level euphony, perhaps even syllable contact (see below). But final coda removal is rare. Recall that the onset and nucleus of base word initial are employed in all of these forms with but a single instance of onset removal; to this observation we can also add that final syllables are overwhelmingly preserved when they are used. It would appear that speakers consider initial and final syllables to be crucial to a word's phonological identity. Removal of internal codas does not appear to be dependant on any single factor, and is this a typically marked process.

It is the case that with one exception, those nasal segments that are glommed are homorganic with the onset C of the following (blend) syllable. Formally stated, it may be the case that the glomming of onset nasals and the maintenance of coda nasals is licensed by proper homorganicity (P. Shaw, personal communication). This in turn leads to the observation that codas are governed by following onsets in the manner suggested by Kaye (1987). However, the fact that glomming may also occur in order to create a blend final segment in a position where licensing through homorganicity is irrelevant somewhat lessens the force of this observation (though it could be argued that glomming that results a blend final segment occurs for a different reason than word internal glomming, namely, to signal word closure in these new forms). Furthermore, much remains to be worked out concerning the stage of representation of the forms when blending takes place. Since nasals routinely assimilate to following obstruents in Malay, these nasal might well be represented archiphonemically before the derivation of the blends, and only assimilate after syllable sequencing has occurred. This would of course account for the appearance of government and licensing. What little data I have that bears on this question is significant. When asked to form a new blend from the phrase *anak angkat* 'adopted child', one consultant produced *ankat*. A second consultant, however, initially produced *ankat* and then rejected it, saying that 'it would sound the same as *angkat*'. The second subject was thus aware that the glommed  $\eta$  would assimilate to the following onset and produce a form that was no

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<sup>6</sup> Vowel removal is not found word internally. Word final vowel removal of course results in a C final blend. There is only one case of this in existing blends; this occurs in the blend *perwanit* < *perajurit wanita* 'female soldier'. It would appear that here the final vowel is removed in order to keep the blend flavor of the form. Interestingly, an alternate form of *perajurit wanita* is *peranita*, in which the second word is shortened of by removal not of the final V but of the initial C of the second base word. Again, the blend flavor is maintained.

different phonetically from the second word of the base phrase.<sup>7</sup> This suggests that licensing before the fact is not the issue, but rather licensing after the fact via (optional, but generally applied) assimilation may be formally what is going on.

### 5.0 On full constituent copying

In the procedure of deriving Malay blends presented here, constituent copying appears to complicate a procedure which might be more easily stated as 'choose either a CV or a CVC syllable, depending on the desired output'. But by deriving these forms with the maximal syllable template, a phonologically legitimate stage in a possible output is automatically selected, and then can be rejected in favor of a reduced output on various grounds.

There is other evidence that constituent copying (though not necessarily full constituent copying) is part of blend derivation. Consider again the English forms cited as examples in (c) *smog*, *brunch*, *motel*, *scrunge*. I originally stated that syllable constituents (here, onsets) were copied from the first word and replaced the deleted onset of the second word. Steriade's proposal for handling reduplication is that constituents are *inserted* into existing constituents and then various adjustments are made in order to achieve the desired syllable shape. If this is the case, the English blend types cited above would be derived as follows.

(20)	sm (oke)	->	*smfog	->	smog
	br(eakfast)	->	*brlunch	->	brunch
	m(otor)	->	*mhotel	->	motel
	scr(ape)	->	*scr sponge	->	sponge

This contention is supported by blends that result when an onset is inserted into an existing onset and the combination does not result in a violation of permissible onset structure, as in (21). Deletion may occur optionally, but the fact that the first and second onsets may coexist implies insertion of one constituent into the existing constituent.

(21)	sp(am)	->	Splog/Spog	'Spam log'
	st(icky)	->	strice/stice	'sticky rice'
	Sc(ottish)	->	Scwok/Scok	'Scottish wok'

Applying this convention to Malay blends, we continue to assume that the syllable is fully copied and concatenated with other copied syllable constituents. Assimilation of nasals appears to occur after this step. Once this assimilation has taken place, the forms are vetted for appropriateness along various lines. Only then does consonant (or, rarely, vowel) removal take place, resulting in both a phonologically permissible and phonosemantically appropriate or desired output.

<sup>7</sup> Of course, one must be careful not to confuse what may be individual speaker strategies with formal representations designed to capture maximum generality, make predictions, and reveal universal linguistic processes. Nonetheless, linguistically native speaker input may serve as a diagnostic instrument if handled with care by the participants in the study.

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